1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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keeps the kinship position of offspring of such a marriage adjusted to the organization of his group. The son of a woman and man who have married wrong and who are not dué (father's sister's son) and galle (mother's brother's daughter) to each other is called gatu by the man and waku by the woman, just as is a son by correct marriage. The sons by another wife of the man would call this child of an improper marriage brother, and the other members of the patrilineal line of the clan would call him by the kinship term they would use if he were the offspring of a proper marriage.[18]

The practice of tracing the descent of relatives within the clan through the father, and outside through the mother, although largely designed to strengthen the clan solidarity and create a sharp line of demarcation between it and other such groups, at times has had the opposite effect.

The Warumeri and Wangurri clans have until recently been bitter rivals for the possession of women of clans in the other moiety. Certain members of the Warumeri clan in the last generation married women who should have become the wives of Wangurri clansmen, since their fathers stood in the relationship of mother's brother to ego.

[18] The relatives from other clans would ignore the relationship of the son to the father in the case of a wrong marriage and call the child the proper term applied to him when tracing his place in the kinship system through the mother. Thus if ego's father married a woman ego called momo (father's mother), ego would call their child brother, for he would trace the relationship through his father, because of the influence of the clan and family; but ego's nati (mother's father), for example, would call the child waku (sister's son), instead of kaminyer (daughter's son, daughter's daughter) as he calls ego.

Nati, being outside the clan, would trace his relationship to the child of the wrong marriage through the mother. The mother in the above example would be nati's sister, so that the child would be sister's son to him. Ego's gawel (mother's brother) would call this child of ego's father by a wrong marriage to ego's momo, dué, instead of the usual waku, since he is father's sister's son if the relationship is traced through the mother.

It can be seen that this process of reckoning relationship through the mother by all outside clans is continually changing the kinship composition of the various clans. New lines of descent are constantly springing out of different clans for those of the kin who are outside its limits. A clan that would for a period have only a mari and marelker and a mari and mokul for the male and female relatives in one's clan other than one's own patrilineal line, could, by a wrong marriage of the male mari—let us say, to a waku—create a gurrong-kutara line of descent for ego on the old mari-marelker clan.

When a clan develops a subclan within it, and this smaller unit is rather strongly organized, there is a possibility of the same process being applied within the clan that ordinarily takes place outside it. When this happens the mari-marelker and gurrong-kutara lines may be found within the clan. This occurs very rarely because these subgroups are unusual within the clan.

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
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any identification between those of the same moiety). But females serve as an agent or link in the transmission of rights and prestige (status and privilege), not through their patri-line, but through their matri-line. They are, so to speak, a channel through which this knowledge passes: knowledge from their M.F. which they have no right to hold themselves, but which comes to their male children. They serve as links, that is between EGO's m. and m.m., allowing EGO to receive this knowledge through the nominal head of his M.M.F.'s patri-line or *baburn;* this head is the M.M.B. This knowledge does not come through a man's M.B. There is no such link between EGO and his M.B., for the latter is too deeply involved with his own *baburn* and his *maribula*, which would be EGO's NGADIWALGUR's patri-line. This comes from a man to his d., and passes through her d. to the latter's son; but as the knowledge is in the hands of a man's son, upon his death it may be taken for all intents and purposes to pass from this custodian, via his sr. and sr.d., to his Sr.D.S.

B. *Three Forms of Descent.* Now, we may observe that we are dealing with three forms of descent as indicated in the structure of the Wulamba kinship. The first is the patri-line (or line of patrilineal descent); the second is EGO's mother's patri-line; and the third is the "line of inheritance" EGO's so-called "line of matrilineal descent." Each of these must be examined in order that we may know the nature of each, with a view to arriving at a definition.

C. *Line of Patrilineal Descent.* The line of patrilineal descent consists of all males and all females descended from a common forefather of the third ascending generation, in an unbroken male line. It is an agnatic descent group and strictly unilateral. The females belong to it in name, but lose their formal identity upon marriage outside the descent line. They serve as "agents" through which their male children may achieve some recognition (status) in the cult life of their M.B. Further, they serve as "links" through which their daughter's male children can gain recognition from their MARI.

The male members of this line of patrilineal descent are, in a manner of speaking, a descent group. We shall return to this aspect later. We may, however, say that all the male members of this line, as well as female members, belong to a patri-line. For our purpose here the "patri-line" and the "line" of patrilineal descent are to all intents and purposes one and the same. Moreover, this patri-line must not be viewed as a lineage, although we will discuss this, too, later.

D. *EGO's Matri-Line.* Now a man's mother's patri-line is of the same nature as the patri-line: strictly unilineal descent through males, traced to the third ascending generation, and including females who are siblings in each generation level. Females are agents or links, through which, on the one hand, their sons can obtain recognition in the cult life of their B., and, on the other, their d.'s sons gain recognition in their patri-line.

A man's patri-line is of one moiety, his mother's patri-line of the opposite moiety. A man's association with the cult life of his mother's patri-line is of a "submerged" nature. Through his physiological connection with his mother, he must inevitably have some "rights" in her patri-line: but he can never as-

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
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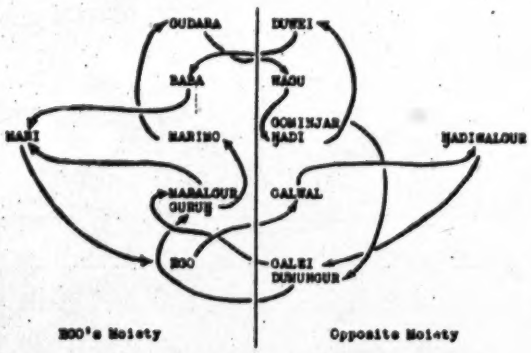
583 601 611 [602] on the marriage of his daughter, but part of this must always go to the latter's MARI. The key positions, then, are those of GALWAL and MARI—the M.B. and M.M.B.; they may be viewed by an EGO as positions of superior status.

582 583 601 611 Table 3, however, demonstrates the asymmetrical nature of the kinship system. It will be noticed that those in the second ascending generation are receivers and givers (note incoming and outgoing arrows), but the MARI receives more than he gives. This is counterbalanced by his sister's marriage with NGADIWALGUR, when the diagram begins to repeat itself in order to ensure a flow of goods from the outside— that is to say, to ensure that a "spread" or a coverage of a number of groups is made where marriages are

TABLE 3

[616]



concerned. There will not in reality be identification of groups within one moiety: it will necessarily be unstable (i.e., as Leach has observed, 1951:52, any system of balances will be unstable).

582 601 602 611 Or consider the same problem between wife-givers and wife-receivers (Table 4). Three groups are found on *X* side and two on *Y* side: EGO receives his wife from his GALWAL, who in turn receives his wife from his GALWAL, EGO's M.M.B. These symbolize the descent lines of inheritance discussed above. These *X* and *Y* lines are recurrent through the generations, i.e., the MARI (e.g.) receives his wife from his M.B. in the generation level above him. Seniority in status does not depend on a man's giving his d. to a male in the generation below; it is ascribed to him through seniority and position in his relevant generation level. A MARI will always have a higher status than a GALWAL, and the latter than an EGO. Such relationships are implicit, not only in the kinship situation, but throughout social life.

611 613 C. *Local Descent Group-Line versus Descent Line.* We may now return to the crux of our problem and examine the term "local descent group" or "local line," which Leach has used in preference to "descent line."

The "local lines" would be, according to Leach (1951:33), CC, B, C, CC'

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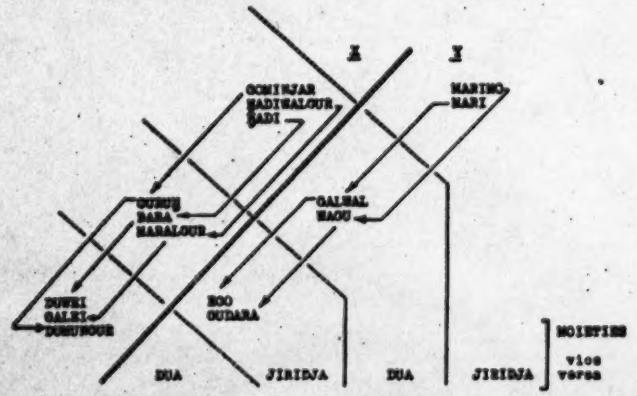
(to use his symbols). Thus EGO's local descent group would contain himself, his father, and his F.F., and, one assumes, the male siblings of each of these. This group is said to be a corporate unit, sharing a common place of residence and being a part of some larger group which has ceased to function as a unit. This is an assumption, partly substantiated by Warner's data, and partly assumed from the composition of the lines of patrilineal descent (the patri-lines). Now, I would argue that the basic unit in Wulamba society is what I have termed the patri-line, and Radcliffe-Brown, "the line of patrilineal descent." This line (i.e., EGO's patri-line O or Leach's B) should contain at any one time MARIMO, BABA, WAWA, GADU, and MARAIDJA (including unmarried or widowed, or otherwise returned, *marimo, mugul'baba, jaba, gadu, maraidja*):

TABLE 4



and this will include male siblings of each of these, with their sons and S.S. The "narrow" patri-line refers to direct descent from actual father to actual son, and that is what is diagrammed. The patri-line as a corporate body must include male siblings, their sons and S.S. This is what is meant when we talk of the descent line, the patri-line of which an EGO is a member. It is not just a diagrammatic device. Further, it should not comprise only EGO, his F., and his F.F., as Leach has noted, but must and does contain relatives of the first and second ascending kinship grades as well as of the first and second descending kinship grades. Old men take young wives. EGO's F. has in a number of cases had several wives before EGO's birth, while when EGO is a small child he may have classificatory S. and S.S. who are his actual father's S.S. or F.S.S.S. by another mother, or his F.B.S.S. or F.B.S., and so on. Empirical material should form the basis of any diagrammatic construct.

Now the *patri-line* may be defined as above, containing males who are F., F.F., B., S., and S.S. to an EGO. They will be actual, as well as classificatory, male siblings or sons and S.S. of any of these. This is the agnatic unilineal

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descent group which can be brought into focus by consideration of its corporateness, its sense of common acting and belonging, its oneness as the *babaru*. I would prefer to call the members of this *babaru*, in totality, a *unilineal descent group* (e.g., Fortes, 1953:25) or *corporate descent group*. In its narrowest sense it is the direct line from F.F. to S.S., in its widest it incorporates male siblings of these persons, and female siblings of each generation grade who have not married outside. But the corporate descent group must exclude female siblings who are not coresident, for the term "corporate" suggests sufficiently close residence to enable more or less regular participation in organized group activities.

Now the patri-line suggests agnatic descent. Diagrammatically or otherwise we can speak of this collection of people as having each a definite position in such a *line*, but together they form the unilineal descent group and behave as a corporate unit. I do not consider that the use of the term "local line" in preference to "descent line" refines our definitions. But if we use descent line or patri-line to signify the type of descent, and to refer to an EGO's *immediate male* forebears and descendants, taking into account the depth of genealogical memory (in this case normally five generation levels, two above and two below), then it is a useful term. If we are to indicate the corporateness of the *babaru*, which will include male siblings and their S. and S.S., as well as unmarried female siblings of each of these, then we must use a descriptive term like "unilineal descent group" or "corporate descent group" or even Leach's "local descent group." The diagrammatization of this group may be designated the "local line," signifying its acknowledged totality.

D. *The Patri-Line (Descent Line): Corporate Descent Group*. Now the patri-line (descent line) is the minimal descent group. It is coresident with the maximal descent group, i.e., the totality of the acknowledged corporate descent group noted above.

All these male relatives (kin) with their wives occupy a specified tract of country over which they have hunting and fishing rights. In this area reside the spirits of their ancestors; in it are found their sacred sites and totemic centers, and to it belong their sacred designs and emblems. Excluding their wives they are the *corporate descent group;* including their wives, they are the *local horde*, the male-female co-operative hunting, fishing, and food-collecting unit.

E. *Parallel Descent Groups (Linguistic Group)*. But within this specified territory are *parallel descent groups*. There may not be many of these, perhaps no more than two or three or at the most half a dozen. But together they form the *mada* or *linguistic group*.[4] Persons of the same generation level in these parallel descent groups are classificatory brothers, acknowledging a common ancestry, which may not always be genealogically traceable. They do not form a *clan* (*mala*), but together (as parallel descent groups) comprise one of several linguistic groups which make up the clan. Several *babaru* of varying size, then, in a parallel fashion, form the linguistic group.

F. *Minimal and Maximal Range of Babaru*. The *babaru* (the corporate descent group) tends to be the smallest unit outside EGO's direct descent line.

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Male siblings of any generation may segment with their descendants: this is particularly the case with male siblings of the second and third ascending generation levels. Actual relationship between members of these parallel groups tends to be somewhat vaguely conceived after the second generation, when use may be made of classificatory terminology considered to be more or less accurate. Each parallel group tends, too, to be more or less of the same size. The linguistic group signifying its maximal range is exogamous. Now, in my opinion the linguistic group could be treated as a lineage: but our labeling it a lineage would depend on our definition.

It may be possible to view the *bäbaru* as the effective nuclear lineage, conforming with Fortes' definition (1949:9): thus each "segment" would be an effective nuclear lineage which in toto (and in parallel linkage) would form the wider lineage or linguistic group. But our definition of lineage would have to be made, not only in terms of genealogically traceable male relatives, but also by allowing some coverage of classificatory male relatives who are viewed as belonging to a common unilineal descent group—which is exactly what the linguistic group is.

G. *Nature of Linguistic Group and Clan.* Each descent group is the *babaru;* it forms the basis for the expanded family, spread across the parallel descent groups within the linguistic group. All male members of the *babaru* have a common interest and a sense of belonging to a common stretch of country, of sharing a common sacred background. The head of the *babaru* will be the MARIMO, and it is upon his decision (usually) that fights and feuds are begun, continued, and terminated: he is, more or less, the jural head of his group. As we have seen, several of such groups form the linguistic group, which means that such parallel groups not only occupy the same ground, hunt together, join in sacred ceremonies together, and so on, but also speak a common dialect which distinguishes them from other linguistic groups. As a linguistic group, these parallel descent groups have in common sacred emblems, songs, sections of mythology, and patterns or totemic designs.

Now, it is true that, as Leach has remarked (1951:25), "The number of basic descent lines in such a diagram [i.e., the kinship system set out diagrammatically] depends merely upon how many different kinds of relative are recognized in the grandfather's generation. It has nothing to do with the number of local descent groups existing in the society." But the classification of such a system into seven basic and secondary patri-lines that symbolize local descent groups is an indication that a categorization takes place. This categorization is an abstract, so to speak, of what actually occurs. It is nothing so rigid as seven "watertight" groups; but what is inferred is a scattering of consanguineal and affinal relatives, throughout a number of linguistic groups. It symbolizes range.

Within the parallel groups forming a linguistic group one finds all kin who are actual and classificatory F.F., F., S., and so on. One might also conceivably find a scattering of relatives who belong to the patri-line of one's MARI, assuming the close identification of MARI with MARIMO. But usually the

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patri-line and hence the descent group, in its parallel extension, of the MARI would form a parallel linguistic group. That is to say, the MARI would belong to a corporate descent group, similar in structure to that in which we find EGO and his MARIMO, and several parallel groups of this substance would form the linguistic group, which would be parallel to the one in which we find EGO and his MARIMO and classificatory kin of his patri-line. These adjacent parallel linguistic groups, each of separate name, each claiming a separate dialect, we shall designate a clan, noting that each clan bears a separate name.

The linguistic group is loosely conceived as the political unit: and this may or may not include the descent group of the MARI. If the descent group of the MARI is outside an EGO's linguistic group, then the latter may be affiliated with the MARI's linguistic group, and become the combined ritual body or political unit. The number of parallel linguistic units found in any one clan varies, from one to several (six or so). And it is highly probable that EGO's *maribula*, which may be synonymous with the *gudarabula*, will be found here.

Now, the linguistic group, and the parallel linguistic groups forming the clan, are exogamous. For various reasons which we shall not discuss here, linguistic groups have, we may assume, grown unwieldy or been driven away from their home territories, and have thus settled elsewhere. Thus we find today that one linguistic group may be (e.g.) duplicated and scattered across eastern Arnhem Land, incorporated under another clan name, and parallel to other linguistic groups of different names. The whole area is divided among a number of clans of varying names, belonging to either of the two moieties, and containing linguistic groups which are often duplicated in other clans. But if EGO's *babaru* is found in one linguistic group and that linguistic group name is found in another part of the country, allocated to a different clan, a relationship is claimed as in the case of the parallel descent groups forming EGO's linguistic group. The same is the case with EGO's *maribula*, which may be found some considerable distance away from his own *babaru*. Similarly, the patri-lines which symbolize EGO's affinal descent groups of the opposite moiety may be adjacent to or some distance away from his *babaru* and *maribula*. In reality then, the patri-lines shown diagrammatically in the kinship system are scattered throughout eastern Arnhem Land, and are duplicated and reduplicated for the local descent groups, each being a corporate descent group. It is probably this situation which has given rise to the native classification of conventional intermarrying pairs of linguistic groups (this point will be discussed in another paper).

Some of the assumptions we have made regarding the distribution of linguistic groups, and their reduplication under different clans, need further discussion. This is not possible here, but must be considered in a separate study. Sufficient has been said to indicate that the basic social unit is the corporate descent group; and the linguistic unit under which this is classified, together with the one which contains the *maribula*, form the other joint body of some solidarity. It is said that the *babaru* and *maribula* are expected to act as one in all corporate enterprises, and their "union" is expressed particularly on

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ritual occasions. Nevertheless, and notwithstanding their binding ritual and economic obligations, the descent group as such is the only unit to which one may turn to obtain aid which will be given more or less automatically.

As Leach has said (1951:53), "the network of kinship relations embraces a great number of local groups [corporate descent groups] and ties them into a kind of loosely knit political system; but throughout the population so linked there is no strong sense of social solidarity and in some cases there are even wide differences of language [as among the linguistic groups] and culture [not in this case, however] between different parts of the one system." That is to say, the usual characteristics of tribal organization are lacking; and it is for that reason that these people of eastern Arnhem Land belong to what I have called the Wulamba bloc, speaking a number of related dialects of one language which in toto are referred to as Miwoidj.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The Wulamba material carries a number of general theoretical implications. These concern primarily, in this context, the corporate or unilineal descent group. The minimal propositions discussed by Leach (1951:52–53) mainly refer to the question of relationship between wife-givers and wife-receivers, and the differentiation of status. These arguments regarding the relevance of status concepts to the analysis of "bride-price" (i.e., bride-wealth) and dowry have not been followed up to any extent here. The status concepts which do exist in Wulamba social life, and are reflected in their kinship system, are those dependent on seniority and reinforced by ritual and sacred ceremony. Other factors linked with status considerations are the prestige attaching to fighting ability, to proficiency in magic, and to parenthood as such. Status derived from these sources need not coincide with ritual and ceremonial status, nor with status associated with seniority in a descent group or a linguistic group. Nevertheless, discussion of all these features would be relevant in any detailed study of kinship and social organization (see Sharp 1934:418–20). But status dependent on being a "wife-receiver" or "wife-giver" is to my mind not relevant. A man's status is not necessarily derived from or enhanced by his being a "wife-giver." It so happens that the "wife-giver" will be socially "superior" (although the term "superior" has connotations which I do not think are applicable here), but he is possessed of this status whether or not he accedes to the expectation that he will give his daughter to his Sr.S. I admit, however, with Leach, that a more detailed analysis is necessary of the economic aspects of the effects of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. As he states (1951:45), "the reciprocities of kinship obligation are not merely symbols of alliance, they are also economic transactions, political transactions, charters to rights of domicile and land use."[4]

Leach points out that when Kachin-type marriage (and presumably Wulamba marriage) occurs—i.e., matrilateral cross-cousin marriage—it is part of the political structure. Now this may certainly be the case among the Kachin, or among certain African groups, but is it the case among the Wulamba? Our

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114 acceptance of this aspect will depend on our definition of political structure and its relevance in northeastern Arnhem Land. It is beyond our scope here to discuss this aspect in detail. If, as Radcliffe-Brown has said (1950:xiv), when we are dealing with political systems we are dealing with law on the one hand, and with war on the other, then for the Wulamba we must define what these two concepts mean. Or again, Radcliffe-Brown has shown that in seeking to define the political structure among the Australian Aborigines, we must consider the territorial community which is united by the rule of law. Is this political community among the Wulamba indeterminate? Thus in such a society the political structure concerns the grouping together of individuals within a territorial framework—a separation of group from group within the total system, which may be described in terms of war, feud, and the exercise of recognized authority in settling disputes, and so on. This would of course involve some differentiation of social rôle between persons and between classes of persons. As Radcliffe-Brown has pointed out (1950:xx, xxi), in an area such as the Wulamba, this would involve differentiation on the basis of sex and age and the noninstitutionalized recognition of leadership in ritual, in hunting, in warfare and in craft-specialization, and so on. We may say with Warner (1937) 619 and Leach (1951:53), as I have already mentioned above, that a number of local groups (or corporate or unilineal descent groups) are tied together in a network of kinship, forming a loosely knit political system. For this means in effect that we have the minimal and maximal corporate descent groups, linking in parallel fashion to form a linguistic group, several of the latter forming a clan and all clans being linked in a cultural and social bloc which I have called the Wulamba. Nevertheless, there is no real political solidarity, as we understand it above, among the peoples so linked. There is, however, a loosely conceived political solidarity among those parallel descent groups forming the 613 619 linguistic group. And that such groups are closely linked in kinship is obvious from what we have said. Many questions could be raised at this juncture concerning concepts of common action in feud and fighting and in the maintenance of law in this context. But again, without considering this in detail, we must say that the linguistic group does not act as one, however closely associated and intimately connected its members may be, scattered among the parallel descent groups, even though they occupy a common, acknowledged, territory and engage together in common ceremonies, belong to the one moiety, speak the one language (or dialect), possess the one sacred emblems and patterns, invocations, and so on. They are the common residential unit; but the [621] political unit, if we may call it that, is the corporate unilineal descent group in its maximal span. A series (two, three, or more) of these political units in parallel fashion form the linguistic group: but political autonomy rests upon each of these units. At this juncture let me discuss briefly the function of such a corporate unilineal descent group. We have already mentioned some of its features, but now we must elaborate its corporate activities in order to justify its being termed a political unit, and to enable us to discuss it in relation to the generalizations indicated by Fortes (1953:24).

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This corporate unilineal descent group tends to be the smallest unit outside EGO's direct descent line, the composition of which I have mentioned above. This is the *baburu*. It is corporate—the body politic— because its male members will always act together, particularly in ritual observances: it may be distinguished from other linked *baburu*, forming the linguistic group, when such ceremonies are in progress. However closely linked these individual *baburu* may be, they are considered sectionally in one sense as separate entities. Each *baburu* is entitled to contribute its own sacred emblems (which may be of the same patterning as the other linked *baburu* within the linguistic group), and to modify and elaborate designs as it desires. Each *baburu*, among other things, will contribute sacred communal cycad nut "bread." 613

All male members of a *baburu* will engage in hunting together, but in this context they are the corporate group *plus*—and this plus will include their wives, so that they hunt as a local horde. But when they hunt for kangaroo, male members of the *baburu* hunt together and share as one: it is the same with fishing. They are the unit which will engage in feuds and in reprisals—brothers stand with brothers, fathers with sons, parallel cousins with parallel cousins, and so on. They are both the defensive and offensive unit. They can at times be allied with parallel *baburu* for this purpose; but when this is done payments are required, whereas within the unit no payment is considered necessary in cases of emergency. 613 621 [294] [628]

In the settling of disputes—in what is known as the *mugarudu*, when the accused runs the gauntlet, his accusers throwing spears at him—it is the *baburu* as one which throws the spears, on the one hand, and, on the other, the *baburu* of the accused which reinforces him on the other side of the ground. Allied *baburu* will stand close by, but it is the single *baburu* which acts. The head of the individual *baburu* is also the jural head; he makes decisions and maintains order within the several domestic circles constituting the *baburu* and its adherents. 613 628

The *baburu* too occupies usually a particular stretch of country, but this may be ill-defined, as the linguistic group—the linked parallel *baburu*—is said to be the landholding unit. It does not own the land, but holds it in custody for past generations of ancestors and future generations. Land can never be alienated, sold, or occupied by another group. (This is an aspect which needs greater consideration.) When we say that the linguistic group occupies a certain territory, we are saying mainly that it is traditionally associated with this. It may not always be present on it. The several linked *baburu* may separate and, at certain seasons with wives of their male members, wander as local hordes over the lands of other linguistic groups: but for their ceremonies, for their burials, and for a greater part of the year, they will be located in their relevant linguistic group, the boundaries of which are fairly clearly defined and are never questioned. 613 621 423

Considering these aspects, we feel justified in calling the unilineal descent group corporate. Moreover, this is the primary unit around which the Wulamba kinship system has been assembled. 601 613

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613 171 The point arises here as to whether corporate descent groups of a unilineal nature are common in Australia. They have not been discussed for elsewhere, and the issue remains for empirical investigation. I would suggest that they are present. Take, for example, the vague concept of horde, as a wandering food-collecting group. This consists normally of a small group of men bound together by common descent, plus their wives. Without the latter this is usually of composition similar to that of the unilineal descent group. A great deal has been written, too, of the local group: this material needs re-analysis, in light of some of the problems raised here.[8]

182 428 591 We may now consider some of the general propositions relating to the structure of the unilineal descent group, and its place in the total social system, as put forward by Fortes. These aspects, he tells us, hold for both matrilineal and patrilineal groups.

613 Forde (1947) has discussed the emergence of such descent groups. It is assumed by him, and Lowie (1921), "that unilineal descent groups are not of significance among peoples who live in small groups, depend on a rudimentary technology, and have little durable property" (Fortes 1953:24). Now this is entirely relevant to our material and assumptions, for the descent group we discuss in this paper occurs among an Aboriginal Australian people who, we may assume, conform with the stipulations laid down for the nonsignificance of this group. If we find the unilineal descent group present in this particular situation, we may assume that we will find a strongly emphasized system of transmission of property rights and type of residence after marriage. In the former case, if we consider ritual, songs, invocations, emblems, patterns, and so on as inherited from father to son, with the oblique inheritance of the MARI-GUDARA line, reinforcing patriliny; and in the latter, the importance of patrilocal residence, with its implications relating to the spirit-conception center, these might well be significant reasons for their emergence. A poorly developed technology, and the virtual absence of durable property, are surely not critical factors governing emergence or nonemergence of such groups.

613 121 114 Now I assume from Fortes' (1953:25), "the most important feature of unilineal descent groups in Africa [e.g.] . . . is their corporate organization," that he would regard a group of this kind as a lineage. But can we regard the corporate unilineal descent group discussed in this paper as a lineage? This question I have suggested in the main body of my discussion. I said that each *babaru* could be viewed as a segment, while the parallel linked *babaru*, in toto, could be viewed as an effective lineage. That is to say, we would be considering the linguistic group as the lineage, segmented into effective unilineal descent groups, each of a corporate nature. But this is not a particularly satisfactory position. The question thus arises whether perhaps we can acknowledge the existence of this corporate descent group without considering it a lineage. This, of course, would lead to a more rigid definition of a lineage, when its depth and span would have to be considered.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that for Fortes (1953:25–26) the unilineal corporate descent group is a lineage: "the way this works depends on the kind of

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legal institutions found in the society—and this is a function of political organization." The more we consider the question of lineage structure, the less we are willing to classify the corporate descent group of Wulamba type as a lineage. There are, however, striking similarities. For example, writes Fortes (1953:26), "where the lineage is found as a corporate group all the members of a lineage are to outsiders jurally equal and represent the lineage when they exercise legal and political rights and duties in relation to society at large." Thus among the Wulamba the corporate descent group, the *babaru*, will be viewed, in toto, by different outsiders as a *maribula*, a *yadjiwalgurabula*, *wagubula*, *yandibula*, *gudarabula*, and so on, depending on what type of relative is found there. "My mother comes from there," or "My sister's son comes from there" thus those people are "my *yandibula*" or "my *wagubula*." All the people within that group will be conveniently classified as "those of my *yandibula*" and so on: all are equally classed with "my mother" or "sister's son," as the case may be, although terminological differences between certain individuals within the group are recognized. But all are held responsible for the actions of any individual within. There is thus a collective responsibility in blood vengeance and in feud, or in running the gauntlet in a *magarada* "peace ceremony." This is thus a function of the Wulamba descent group, as well as, apparently, of the lineage (p. 26).

However, an aspect which demarcates the Wulamba descent group from the lineage is the latter's presumed perpetuity in time. Fortes (p. 27) discusses its continuity, which means its perpetual structural existence—the perpetuation of defined rights, duties, offices, social tasks, and so on, vested in the lineage as a corporate unit. Among the Wulamba, as we have seen, genealogical memory is short. The greatest span of any descent line is five to six generations. But segmentation occurs at any point, so that a number of parallel descent groups are ranged to form a linguistic group, and genealogical connections between them may not always be accurately stipulated. Nevertheless, within the range of the parallel descent groups we find the perpetuation of defined rights which will be primarily of a ritual order, and relating to rights over patterns and emblems, dances, songs, myth sections, and so on; also rights to hunt a particular natural species; rights to make certain kinds of bags; and, sometimes, but rarely, specified tasks like canoe-making, or prerogatives concerning stone-ax and stone-blade quarries, deposits of ochre, and so on. This again raises some interesting questions, highly relevant to our concept of lineage and descent group alike.

It is true, too, as Fortes has mentioned (p. 29) that the descent group must be studied as a part of the total social system. He considers that the main methodological contribution to such studies has been the approach from the angle of political organization (p. 30). Whether this can be done for the Wulamba descent groups remains to be seen. Or again, that descent is fundamentally a jural concept (Radcliffe-Brown 1952): we see, says Fortes (1953:30), "its significance, as the connecting link between the external, that is political and legal, aspect of what we have called unilineal descent groups,

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and the internal or domestic aspects." In the latter context kinship carries maximum weight; among the Wulamba there is more or less equal balance between these two features. The corporate body as such, among the Wulamba, is based on kinship.

As Fortes has pointed out (1953:31), when lineage structure is discussed it is considered "from a particular analytical angle, with the organization of jural, economic, and ritual activities." It is on this aspect that we require more detailed consideration in relation to the descent group among the Wulamba. This is the case, too, with the structure of authority mentioned by Fortes (p. 32), for a lineage as a corporate group. Each Wulamba descent group has an acknowledged head, an elder to whom all within his group look up. He, in conjunction with elders of other parallel groups forming the linguistic group, has special ritual duties and power: his authority is reinforced by ritual sanctions. It would seem, then, that a more detailed analysis of the significance of the descent group in Arnhem Land religious life would be a rewarding avenue of investigation.

In these last few paragraphs my purpose has been only to consider the corporate unilineal descent group (as found among the Wulamba) in relation to what Fortes has termed the lineage. If (i.e., the unilineal descent group) is for him the basic determinant of lineage structure. If that is so, we can legitimately mention some of his broad generalizations in relation to our concept. Further, we have not deliberately tried to show that the descent group as present in northeastern Arnhem Land social structure is, or may be, equated with a lineage. But there are points of comparison between these two separate, but similar, concepts. These aspects of compatibility we have indicated, and they are propositions for further empirical testing.

NOTES

[1] I have preferred the term used by the people themselves: they are the Wulamba, which refers collectively to all their clans; that is, they may be said to be the Wulamba bloc. The varying dialects are collectively known as Miwoldj. Warner (1937) erroneously used the term "Murngin," which is the name of only one clan and should not be used in this sense.

[2] The material presented here was obtained at Millingimbi in 1930; short periods of work had previously been spent there, in 1946 and 1947. More intensive field work was carried out in 1946–47 within the vicinity of Virrkalla, northeastern Arnhem Land. The initial period of research was carried out under the Australian National Research Council, the latter under the Research Committee of the University of Sydney; both were under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney. The writer wishes to acknowledge the help and encouragement of Professor A. P. Elkin of that Department. This paper was written under a Nuffield Foundation Dominion Fellowship, in London. It was presented in part and discussed at a seminar on kinship theory at the London School of Economics.

[3] The kinship terms used in this paper are in their Anglicised equivalents: these differ in some cases from those used by Warner and Radcliffe-Brown. For instance, *muritma* is *marima; yippa, jiba; maraitha, maraldja; murdker, maralgur; kutara, gudara; mali, gadi; gawal, galwal; arndi, gandi; galle, galri; daf, dawel; nalfindker, yadiwalgur; kamiyer, gamiyar*; etc. Terms in capitals denote males.

[4] The approximate population of Arnhem Land is 4,000; 1,200 to 2,000 possibly belonging to the Wulamba bloc.

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[6] I would not say, however, that Thomson's material (1949) on ceremonial economic exchange fills many gaps, if any, in Warner's data (see Leach 1951:34). It is obvious, I think, both from his material and from ours, that exchanges of this nature between M.B. and Sr.S. comprise merely one element in a wide system of economic exchanges. Goods travel backwards and forwards through the network of cognatic relationships, against a background of linked and allied linguistic groups, in a traditionally prescribed fashion, between certain specified kin, passing outside the periphery of the Wulamba bloc into and from alien Aboriginal or European (or Indonesian, as before) channels. Such exchanges consist of specified objects or commodities, which move in different directions across the surface of the whole country; but this is only one aspect relevant to the total kinship system.

Also, I would agree with Leach (p. 52) that in a marriage exchange the equivalent of a woman is not only another woman, and that the equivalent of a woman may be found not only in goods and labor and symbolic objects. Certain intangibles can play a part—and these may involve prestige, rights, services, and perhaps status. Little work, as yet, has been done in consideration of these. Reciprocal exchanges between males and females, or between females, should also be discussed in much greater detail, for these are not just reflections of exchanges between male partners. It is not satisfactory to consider an EGO as being always a male, as has been done in most discussions of kinship systems. Where prestations occur between male and female kin, these seem to conform with traditional patterns; but between female kin (i.e., among the Wulamba), this is not so apparent.

[7] Radcliffe-Brown (1931:4–5) calls the local group a horde: he states that each horde is independent and autonomous, managing its own affairs and acting as a unit in its relations with other hordes (however, see pp. 28, 106). Elkin (1938:39–41, 73–74) discusses the local group: it is, he tells us, an enlarged family, consisting of a man and his living descendants in the male line; such a group can be a local patrilineal clan. Elkin then draws a distinction between the local group and the horde, which is as we have defined it above. In fact his statements would, I think, agree with our own here.

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